/8 cont'd/

858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; all of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order

/9 cont'd/

181 compared to the happiness of having descendants. This way of thinking has distant origins; the T'ou-jen inherited it from their ancestors, and they have kept it scrupulously for centuries. Let us not be surprised therefore that because of it certain customs which seem inadmissible and shocking to us appear reasonable and justifiable to the T'ou-jen.

We shall set forth in what follows the matrimonial customs of a people which is convinced of the duty of marrying, and which expects male descendants from marriage.

/10/ Division of the Study

583 Marriage is the legal union of a man and woman. But with the T'ou-jen the daughter being the property of the parents, in the true sense of the term, an indemnity is imposed on the one who wishes to marry her.

This indemnity is paid in two ways; either by purchase or by the furnishing of his person or his services for the benefit of the owner of the girl.

[587] The marriage of widows, which still often takes place nowadays in the ancient form of abduction, nevertheless falls in the category of marriage by purchase; for after having taken the widow to a safe place, a discussion is held about her price. Therefore, we shall deal successively with:

I. Marriage by purchase
II. Marriage by furnishing ones services or person
III. Abnormal marriages
IV. Divorce, repudiation, and exchange of wives
V. Runaway wives
VI. The matriarchate

/99 cont'd/

583 rides pillion and holds her in his arms. But it is necessary to take account of the circumstances in which the girl is carried away; it is done running, while closing the door with a crash, while the girl sobs, etc. Surely it is not the brother's place to carry his sister outside in a case of abduction, nor that of a member of the family to ride pillion, to hold the girl in his arms. We are here in the presence of an old custom belonging to an outdated organization and whose sense and memory the T'ou-jen have lost. Ever since, it is not surprising to note meaningless actions and anomalies. Besides, it is the general law which rules customs no longer understood. The more one goes ahead in time, the less one understands them, and the more one distorts them.

/100/

C. Polygamy

595 Summary. -- 1. Polygamy exists but is not general. 2. The four categories of polygamists. 3. Procedure for the purchase of a concubine. 4. Position of the second wife with respect to the official wife.

1. Polygamy Exists. It Is Not General

One can expect to meet polygamy among the T'ou-jen when one understands their thinking as to the necessity of having male descendants. When one considers their ideas on the subject of the position of a widow who has children in the T'ou-jen family system, as well as their way of thinking on the subject of the position of a woman, on whom rests all the work in the country. However, when one thinks of the generally poor circumstances of the people, it is easy to admit that polygamy cannot be general. The economic condition is here one of the largest factors in the question of polygamy.

The T'ou-jen, living nowadays in an agrarian state, inhabit a country which is not precisely a "promised land" for the tiller of the soil. The climate is generally cold, the country is mountainous,

2: Schram--1[illegible] M-4,5 (1915-1920) 1932 . AE9 Monguor AE9
Manchu AG4

Mo 595 /100 cont'd/

the land is limited and rather poor. Now to procure for oneself two wives, maintain them, and raise the children who will be born is assuredly a heavy burden. It will therefore be necessary either to have the means and be more or less rich, or to be forced to it by circumstances. This is what we shall ascertain while examining the various categories of polygamists.

Let us always keep in mind the fact that since polygamy is not at all reprehensible in the eyes of the T'ou-jen, one sees it practiced by the most respectable people.

Is the number of wives limited? How many wives /101/ could one take and still remain an upright man in the eyes of the people? This is an idle question; I know of only a few cases of T'ou-jen who had three wives. I have never heard it said that a T'ou-jen went beyond this number.

2. The Four Categories of Polygamists

Mo 595 842 a) The first category of polygamists includes sterile couples. One sees polygamy where there are no children or where there is a scarcity of children. The necessity of having male children takes precedence over everything in T'ou-jen life. It is this way of thinking which gives the courage to live more poorly, sharing the daily bread, which is already very scarce, with a new life partner; it is again this way of thought which persuades the official wife and makes her allow the husband to take another partner. At the time of family disputes the sterility of the wife is the decisive argument to make her listen to reason and to preach patience and harmony in the family. Thus as a general rule, although the economic condition of the family permits it ever so little, a sterile couple will see a second wife added. (1) Fortunately, sterility always remains the

Ma 595 842

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Generally speaking the Manchus do not consider polygamy as a good institution, except in the case of the woman's

/101 cont'd/

Ma 595 842 sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842 exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171 It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589 b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

/102 con'd/

Mo 595 589 Besides sterility and scarcity of children, which are above all the determining and positive causes of polygamy, there is another cause which is rather passive-negative in the sense that polygamy in this case is rather necessitated by circumstances which do not depend on the wife and is brought on by the situation in which she finds herself. This is the case of the widow upon the decease of the husband among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 587 595 The young widow, who has ordinarily borne several children, finds herself at this moment of her life completely perplexed: to remarry is to run toward the unknown and to abandon her children, who, in her opinion, will be unhappy for the rest of their lives. How can she live without these children? Staying in the family as a widow is advised against for her because of her relative youth... /103/ moreover one of her sons will perhaps be able to marry in two or three years...the position of mother-in-law appeals to her. The family of the parents-in-law understands also what it will lose upon the departure of this fertile woman, and what her children will lose. In this case the mother-in-law, during the 49 days following the death, proposes to the widow that she not leave them and that she marry one of the brothers of the dead man. If there are unmarried sons in the family, a match from among them is proposed to her, the difference in age between husband and wife having little importance in T'ou-jen country. If all the sons are married, she can remarry as the second wife of one of her husband's brothers, little does it matter whether he is older or younger than the dead man.

That is a case of polygamy very common among widows who have children. It is the levirate. Although in theory widows are free to go back to their maternal families after the 49 days of mourning and to marry again at another wedding, they very often remain as the second wife of one of the brothers of the dead husband in order to take care of their children. (1)

Ma 587 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: The widow can marry anyone of her husband's clan members except his

/104 cont'd/

595 587 The T'ou-jen find this kind of polygamy rational when they think of the sad condition in which orphans are put, who, they say, will have to count solely on the grandparents alone, who are already old. I believe that the true explanation of this fact must be found in the former custom which did not permit widows to leave the clan.

Notice with respect to this very special category of polygamists the very special manner in which one speaks of these marriages. One does not say that the widow looked for a husband, as one says in the case of widows who remarry outside the clan of the parents-in-law, but one says satun xâgu, "to cover the shadow." (2) Is it the

[587 775]

2. It is perhaps useful to note in connection with the expression "to cover the shadow," the way of thinking of the Ou-hoan, Sien-pi people (Tong hou people) on the subject of the condition of widows in the world beyond. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 85: (The widow after being remarried either to her husband's brothers or to his paternal uncles...) "after death reverted to her first husband in the next world." /Cited in English, with introductory part in French./

new husband who covers the shadow of his dead brother, so that this shadow will do no more evil? Among the T'ou-jen the shamans claim that all illnesses are caused by the passage of the shadow of a dead person over the body of a person in good health.

587 589 765 Yet it happens, when widows are no longer young, that they stay in the family of their parents-in-law without remarrying, solely in order to care for their children. When /105/ widows who have not remarried bear another child during the two years following the death of the husband, such a case does not surprise the T'ou-jen too much; the child is supposed to be the child of the dead man. It is

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[771] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo [847] children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
848] or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo [792] the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma [847 848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/105 cont'd/

461 462 595 livestock, much land, and few workers, that the wife herself proposes to the husband that he take another partner to lighten her work. But then she herself will try /106/ to find a much younger girl than she, less talented, less beautiful, the kind minus habens, /"having less"/, on the whole a person who will not give offense to her and to whom she will be able to give orders. The T'ou-jen women are very shrewd in this regard. I have even twice known the case of a woman shrewder yet; instead of looking for a second wife for her husband, she had found it more practical to give a second wife to her son, who was scarcely seventeen and already had a wife several years older than he. These cases explain again the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of marriage. We have said above that marriage is not the personal affair of those concerned, and that the T'ou-jen see in it something besides the procreation of descendants.

595 d) Fourth category of polygamists: that of those who want to have two wives to enjoy them.

This category is rather rare. It is always dangerous, say the elders, to take a second wife when the first has children and does not want to hear polygamy mentioned. Those who proceed further end up by taking a concubine to sell the official wife, as the adage says. Besides, says another adage, "Women are like medicine; one must not take too much." Polygamy is therefore far from being general among the T'ou-jen. For my part, I believe that this chapter will gain a great deal by being carefully reviewed and corrected in many ethnology books.

3. Procedure for the Purchase of a Concubine

As a general rule, the husband first proposes to his wife that he take a concubine. If the wife will not listen and if the husband is very eager to do it, he will have recourse to a woman friend of his wife or even to one of her parents /relatives?/ in order to convince her. If that does not succeed, the affair is usually /107/ shelved.

606 If the wife consents, the husband will send someone to the wife's

/107 cont'd/

595 [604] family to announce his intention to them. The envoy will bring the traditional jug of gin and will say that their daughter has given her consent to her husband's wishes for such and such a reason. Then he will beg the parents not to make difficulties for the son-in-law. His mission will be easy to carry out when it is a question of sterility, of widowhood, or of lack of workers. He will meet difficulties, often serious, when he has a case in the fourth category of polygamists to present.

595 762 The purpose of this interview is above all to come to an understanding with this family, who will claim to have given their daughter to be the sole mistress of the house. Then, it is a precautionary measure. Experience has taught that these unions are often disastrous, and that it is among them that the greatest number of suicide is found. Now we know the T'ou-jens' profound fear of suicides, which regularly ruin the families concerned. In case of suicide, the clans of the mother and father of the unfortunate woman present themselves in order to demand an account of the death of their daughter. If before concubinage it has been possible to obtain the consent of the family, later, if ever the misfortune comes, there will be more chance for an understanding. The husband first asks for his wife's consent because he also knows that suicide is her supreme weapon and that he can do nothing against it.

595 587 The second wife that the T'ou-jen takes is either a girl or a widow. If she is a widow, they follow the procedure for the marriage of widows; the price of a concubine widow is double or triple that of an official wife. If the second wife is a girl, they go through all the phases of the marriage of girls.

595 Well-to-do families rarely give their daughters to be concubines. Poor families will "resign themselves" to it wholeheartedly, fascinated by the extraordinary compensations which they receive for this "sacrifice." The price of girl concubines /108/ go up to 300 strings of cash and more, without counting the clothes, the dinner, and the rest; which proves abundantly that the financial situation plays a fundamental role in polygamy.

/108 cont'd/

595 4. Position of the Concubine with Respect to the Official Wife

In theory the official wife is the mistress, she takes precedence over her companion, she gives orders in the house, receives guests in the absence of the husband, converses with them together with him, settles the thousand little matters which occur in the course of the day, has the right to go to festivals before the second wife... and after her death, she will have precedence over the second wife in the cemetery.

But in practice, except for her title and her precedence in the cemetery, everything will depend on the way in which she will be able to deal with her rival and command her husband's respect; if she is the least bit less talented than the rival, her superiority will vanish very quickly.

It is natural besides for the husband to be fonder of the young woman who gives him children than of the great lady who is sterile. The husband would need the tact of a master and that for a whole lifetime in order never to allow this natural inclination, which must cause jealousy in the official wife, to appear. The wife would have to have a heroic character not to become bitter when she notices that she occupies only second place in the heart and the esteem of the husband when it is natural for her to think that she has a right to the first. Now, unfortunately, all T'ou-jen husbands are not masters of tact and all T'ou-jen wives are not heroines in the mastery of the heart. So it is rare that the wives get along well with each other. Nevertheless, if the official wife is in the least capable and the husband is correct, she will be able to take precedence at home and in public, she will be able to demand from her husband /109/ better clothes than those the concubine wears, she will be able to live with her husband in the best room, to have herself served first at meals 578 after the husband, to sit down first after him, etc.... When there is a quarrel between the wives, the husband simply goes walking and comes back when the storm has calmed down.

595 601 The second wife will call the official wife "my big sister," and the official wife will call the second "my sister." When there are children, they will say: "Call me the grandmother of the children" or "Call me the little mother." Similarily, the husband will say: "Where is the children's grandmother; where is the little one?"

Mo /109 cont'd/
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Each of the two women has her chickens, which she has at her disposal as owner, as well as the eggs. The grain left on the flat area after the threshing and winnowing also goes into their private tills. At the time of the opium harvest, what adheres to the
Mo [276] lining of the containers reverts to them also; each one therefore has her personal savings.

Mo 595 I cannot end the chapter on polygamy without concluding that monogamy is in fact the general rule and the moral order among the T'ou-jen, while polygamy constitutes an exception to the rule.

Indeed, one meets polygamy only in special cases, which are sterility, widowhood, and the shortage of workers. The fact that polygamists of the fourth category are by far the least numerous seems to prove the point. (1)

Ma 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Among the Manchus monogamy is the usual form of marriage. Polygamy if indeed it does occur, is a very exceptional form and can be considered as an incidental institution. According to the Manchus, polygamy is a modern fashion borrowed from the Chinese who especially the rich people use it very largely. The rich Manchus used to have 5, 6 wives until a new law limited the number of wives to two only. There is restriction to taking two sisters as wives, but the Manchus do not like to give two daughters, because other unmarried people may be discontented by it. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 Conclusion. An ethnographic fact of prime important entirely dominates the question of the marriage of girls and widows, and in part that of polygamy.

000 /109 cont'd/
595 and in part that of polygamy. We wish to speak /110/ of the custom
587 which says that widows upon the death of their husbands should not leave the husband's family but be remarried, either to the dead man's brother or to his paternal uncle.

595 We cannot attach too much importance to this institution,
587 first because of its universality, then because of its great age and
171 the length of its existence. Indeed, this practice has been in force among all the nomadic peoples who have wandered in the immense steppes of northern and southern Asia, as Chinese history attests. (1)

1. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 4: A universal custom, which as we shall see, extended for a thousand years over the whole of Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father's wives (with exception of his own natural mother) and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brethren. It does not appear quite certain whether the son or the brother had first choice; perhaps the brother only took when there was no son, possible vice-versa. /Cited in English./ Parker, p. 19, cites this practice among the Hiung-nu; p. 85, among the Wu hwan and Sien-pi; p. 109, among the T'u-yu-hun. Barthold cites it among the Ouigour and Mongols, cf. note, p. 104.

587 As a consequence of this fact it is not a question of speaking in any way of widow marriage for all this period of history. Widows used to simply pass to other members of the same family. From that

/111 cont'd/

500 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

104 Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

583 Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mirgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

● 545 Herbert Koenig, "Das Ehenecht der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

/111 cont'd/

595 prevails. One can marry as many women as he wants and can support.... The reasons for the polar men taking a second wife are the wish to acquire additional help in the household and the wish for children, the latter in the case of sterility of the first, whom it is economically impossible simply to divorce. Moreover, the first wife always continues to be the most respected; among the Jukagir there are various designations. For example, the second is known as "little wife," but the third is characterized as a concubine. /Cited in German./

As for monogamy, Herb. Koenig says: ... Monogamy, actually the most common because of the economic situation ... /cited in German/.

/112/ Chapter II

Marriages by the Furnishing of One's Services or Person

583 All the marriages described above are concluded by purchase, either of a girl or of a widow. The new category of unions in which the wife is no longer bought offers to poor needy people the only means of being able to marry. People of average means will prefer to purchase a girl for their son rather than to lay themselves open to a whole series of disagreeable consequences [a]ally inherent in this kind of union involving furnishing of services or one's person.

So the disadvantages must be really serious for even the T'ouien to advise against them, these people whom we have seen to be such great lovers of small profits.

These alliances are therefore "nowadays" solely practiced by young people who have no other means of marrying and who are resigned to these sacrifices in the hope of descendants and in order to fulfill the obligation to marry.

The division of the chapter will therefore be: Furnishing of services to marry:

/136 cont'd/

586 595 Polygamy often leads to divorce. The too marked attentions of the husband for the second wife embitter the official wife and make her look for another husband. Polygamy is the sure means foreseen by the husband to get rid of his wife whom he no longer loves in order to take another who is to his taste. Once the latter is married, the first will consent to being sold and will be forced indirectly to get another suitor. /137/

586 Bad treatment which a husband makes his wife undergo does not constitute grounds for divorce. Brutality of the husband can at the most force the wife to flee to her parents. Then the family, the maternal uncle at the head, will come to demand explanations and will require guarantees for the future; after which the wife will return home. If the brutality continues, the wife herself will look for another match, and they will proceed to divorce.

They do not divorce because of sterility but take a second wife. Bodily faults of the wife are rarely grounds for divorce. In this case, because it is hard for the wife herself to find a match; no other resort is left to the husband except repudiation.

A husband who has ascertained that his wife steals, wastes his property; etc., will try to make her life impossible and to force her indirectly to get a purchaser in order to be able to get a divorce. They are always afraid of repudiation.

In the case that the daughter-in-law does not get along with the mother-in-law, if the couple get along well together, they will try to have a division of the property so that they can live separately. If, on the other hand, the couple do not get along, they will proceed as in the preceding cases...and will be divorced.

Here again as everywhere else one perceives the shortcoming of the race. The pursuit of small profits manifests itself in everything. They will be patient for years, they will humiliate themselves as far as urging the wife to get another match, for the price of the sale of the wife is coveted above all. However, in the end this price will be determined in direct proportion, on the one hand, to the aversion felt for the wife, and on the other hand, to the wealth of the suitor, as well as to the passion he feels for the woman who

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.[41]

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huang-chung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huang-chung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712–1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280–1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, feuding and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third. (*Annals*

[41] Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdekten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78–99, 1940–1941.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of

M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually

M [182] [768] [428] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.